601 "mothers"), or of the "husbands" of my mother (who are at the same time my "fathers"). It is seen then that a given individual calls all his parallel cousins "brothers and sisters," and his parallel uncles and aunts "fathers and mothers", while he calls his cross-cousins husbands or wives, and his cross-aunts and uncles "father-in-law and mother-in-law" (identified with grandfather and grandmother, thus, more exactly: parents to the second degree). The confusion between gen-
601 erations and degrees thus makes equally possible the marriage of the
582 brother of the mother or of the father, to the daughter of the sister or of the brother, or of the sister of the father with the son of the brother, since, in these two cases, the parents-in-law will be the grandparents, called thus, by the term of parents to the second degree. These marriages, which we shall call "oblique," since they unite individuals belonging to two consecutive generations, are actually practiced.

601 Below is to be found the list of terms of relationship, as they have just been analyzed in their respective relations (Dialect A 1/2).

1. ahuĩnosu (a 1); ahuĩne (a2)..... father, brother of the father, husband of the mother's sister.
2. aʔkenosu (a 1); aʔketosu (a2)... mother, sister of the mother, wife of the father's brother.
3. uettu, uezu ..... child.
4. aʔkiraru ..... son.
5. aʔkineru ..... daughter.
6. akenãnosu ..... older brother.
7. (t)oãnosu ..... older sister.

[20]8. alõnsu ..... younger brother, son of brother of the father, son of sister of the mother.

9. arĩndesu ..... younger sister, daughter of brother of the father, daughter of sister of mother.
10. asũkosu ..... sister's husband, cross-cousin (masc.) (man speaking).
11. aseetasu ..... brother's wife, cross-cousin (fem.) (woman speaking).
12. asĩntu ..... sister's daughter (m. s.), brother's daughter (w. s.), son's wife.
13. asineetu ..... sister's son (m. s.), brother's son (w. s.), daughter's husband.

601 A second difficulty comes up in the designation of parallel cousins. It has been seen above that the same name is used for them which designates the younger sister or the younger brother, whatever their age may be. This [23] usage suggests that the adequate translation of the terms alõnsu, akenãnosu, arĩndesu, (t)oãnosu could be, rather than "elder" and "younger," big brother, big sister, little brother, little sister, with the same ambiguity that exists in our language between the real sense of the adjective and its figurative sense. Be that as it may, one often comes up against a contradictory situation, not only objectively (which does not shock Indian logic, as will be seen in the case of "mothers" younger than their "sons"), but also literally. This is what happens when for example, a woman calls a female cousin arĩndesu who is quite obviously her elder. Then one has recourse to two supplementary terms, sometimes added to classifying terms, but also sometimes replacing them, even when it is a question of designating blood brothers or sisters. These are:

21. toã-nosu : "elder" (to designate a man):

22. toãtadosu : "elder" (to designate a woman).

These terms serve to sharpen the respective position, regarding the generation, for those who are:

23. arĩnẽdesu, or

24. aloneẽnedẽsu,

that is, "one as regards the other of the arĩndesu," or "the alõnsu," which is not permissible in certain instances; while two women can be without difficulty:

25. aseteẽnãdesu

or two men:

26. asukoĩnẽdesu,

that is, "the one for the other," aseẽtasu or asũkosu. Thus we have found women who call their parallel cousins arĩndesu toãtadosu, meaning, "my older little sister."

601 Other difficulties appear in the case of oblique marriages. When
582 the mother's brother marries the sister's daughter, the woman's grandparents are at the same time the husband's parents. When the husband marries one or several daughters of his wife's sister, his own parents are simultaneously the parents-in-law and the great-uncles of his wives. Thence the frequent necessity to differentiate more precisely than the classifying terms permit between mother's and the father's sisters, on one side (that is the potential parents-in-law), and the fathers and mothers of the father and mother (that is the eventual
601 parents-in-law of one of the spouses). The [24] following terms, then,

601 35. tarũtarosu : "old brother-in-law" (tarũte [b 1/2] equals asũkosu [a 1/2]);

36. tuĩtarosu : "old husband" (uĩte [b 1/2] equals ouẽnsaesu [a 1/2]);

37. ianẽrosu : ?

38. asoũkerosu : "old grandfather" or "father-in-law";

[25] 39. taka?kenosu cited with the commentary : "When the
[764] taka?kenosu dies, the alõnsu cut their hair, but not the akenãnosu."

Finally, two terms of relationship express the relations coming from "oblique" marriages and from the division of generations into "elders" and "younger":

40. ajũnkedisu;

41. (t)ãdirikisu.

A man calls the akenancsu of his mother ajũnkedisu (while the term asoũnosu is generally—but not always—reserved for the alõnsu); one and the other are, of course, the asũkosu of his father. The same individual is then called "father-in-law" (asoũnosu) or "husband" (ouẽnsaesu) by the sister of the subject considered, or, if she is married, ajũnkedisu also, the husband then calling him "father" (ahuĩnosu). One sees then that the ajũnkedisu is a man whose daughter or wife I (masculine subject) marry, and whose son my sister marries, if she does not marry the man himself. Thus it is explained that the ajũnkedisu is asũkosu or asoũnosu, to my brother; asũkosu or asineẽru, to my father; akenãnosu or asineẽru, to my mother; ouẽnsaesu or asoũnosu, to my sister; ahuĩnosu, to my wife.

On the other hand, a man calls a woman (t)ãdirikisu who can be arĩndesu or asintu of his father, aseẽtasu or asĩntu of his mother, aseẽtasu or ajẽinosu of his sister, aekẽnosu of his wife. She is then a woman whom I marry or whose daughter I marry. A woman, in her turn, calls another woman (t)ãdirikisu who is a?kẽndesu of her husband, that is, a woman whose brother or son she marries.

601 ●582 One sees that these two names bestow two privileges, or opens a double right: that of the marriage of the mother's brother (and, theoretically, of the father's brother) with his niece; a right belonging essentially to the elder brother; and of the marriage of the sister's son (brother's son) with his aunt. This rule, or rather this possibility is explained on the one hand by the tendency of the Nambikwara towards polygamy, on the other hand, by the scarcity (moreover consecutive) of women. We shall study examples in an instant.

601
●582 A man marries a woman and subsequently her four "daughters" (probably two blood daughters from the preceding marriage, and two parallel nieces). In this case, a2 calls the older wife a2eʲnosu, and the four young ones aseetasu, from which one can conclude that A32 has married at the same time his (t)adirikisu and the latter's daughters.

Finally, in this third case:

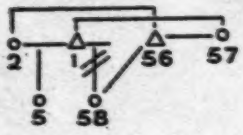

Fig. 8.

Normally, a2 calls a57 aseetasu (wife of her brother), but she disregards the fact that a58 is in the same situation, and keeps for her the name which she gave her before her marriage to A56, of tayettu (my child, daughter of her husband). Her own daughter a5 normally calls a57 a2eʲnosu (wife of the mother's brother), and a58 toanosu (older sister), however, she could marry and call the son of her "mother-in-law" husband as well as the son of her "sister."

Thus the Indians treat abnormal situations resulting from polygamous unions in two ways. Either they admit the creation of a new situation and bless it by revising the names (the newly-married wives are promoted to the class of "mothers," and their parents to the class of [28] "parents of the third degree"; the women are then separated in nomenclature from their former brothers, sisters, sisters-in-law and husbands, who become sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law); or else the former names are simply preserved, the practical knowledge of the situation supplanting the impropriety of the language.

601 But these uncertainties, which appear in the case of verbal contradictions, are completely absent in the presence of real contradictions. These latter are admitted as normal consequences of the system, or more exactly, they are not considered as contradictions. Thus:

601 Grandparents are most often singled out among themselves, and
184 distinguished from the parents of the spouse, which does not happen in system a (1 or 2); also, the son (or daughter) of the brother (or the of the sister) of the father (or of the mother) are sometimes designated by different terms. The groups studied are not dense enough to be able to make a base for a theory of the system in force. Solutions of replacement intervene frequently, and the preferential forms of marriage found are not adequate for generalizations, due to an insufficient number of cases. But the preceding considerations suggest that prefer-
● [582] ential unions, choosing also among certain categories of cross-cousins, could formerly have been in force.

Finally, the names for brothers (and sisters), elder and younger, are more changeable than in system a (1 or 2); and one sees appear a new term designating the brother or the sister of the other sex. This
[177] disorganization of vocabulary can be interpreted as resulting from the influence of the northern system (dialect c), where we shall see later on that it tends more and more to assimilate the system of groups b.

Here is the vocabulary of parentage used, with references to group a (1/2): [Note: m.s. = man speaking; w.s. = woman speaking; m.w.s. = man or woman speaking.]

Dialect a 1/2		Dialect b 1/2	
abuĩnosu	1.	(ta)miĩnde	(my) father, father's brother.
	2.	eĩnde.....	father (equals man).
	3.	uaĩre	father (used to designate absent father, or father of a third person, or the father's brother.
	4.	(ta)miĩnlaore	father's brother (equals other father).
	5.	(ta)mindũdnere	father (father's brother when he substitutes for dead father).
aʔkenosu	6.	(ta)nãde	(my) mother, mother's sister.
	7-8.	(ta)nãdelaore, ndaore.....	mother (other mother; for the mother's sister and the mother of a third).

601 184 born respectively from a brother and from a sister receive different names according to whether they are the sons or daughter of a brother (of a sister), or sons or daughter of a sister (of a brother). Finally, it is no longer normally possible to identify the son-in-law (ŝiauĭtte) and the daughter-in-law (ŝinaĭso) with the nephew or the niece (cross-), and the ŝiuŝi, soeŝo (the same difference as the asuĭttu, asuĭte, and asuelisu or asuiarore of the preceding systems) do not correspond exactly to relatives of the third generation, or to the third degree.

601 184 ●582 These contrasts are clarified when one studies the forms of marriage actually practiced. Of eight marriages, five are "horizontal," that is uniting a husband and wife coming from the same classificatory generation, and three are "oblique," the husband coming from the generation of his wife's mother:

C1 = c2 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal);
C4 = c5 : husband's brother and wife's sister (horizontal);
C6 = c7 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C12 = c13 : mother's older brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C16 = c17 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
C20 = c8 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
C20 = c21 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
C29 = c28 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal).

[33] In the absence of genealogical facts, one can even suppose that two of the marriages above, classed as "horizontal," are probably oblique, given the considerable difference in age between the husband and wife (C20 = c8, c21); such is often the case of children issued from "oblique" marriages. But even disregarding this possibility, the proportion of "oblique" relationships rises when one passes from marriages as such to the classificatory relationship of husband and wife. Thus C6, for example, calls "wife":

c2 : wife's sister;
c5 : sister of father's wife;
c7 : his own wife;
c8 : sister of father's wife;
c13: wife's sister;
c17: wife's sister;
c21: sister of father's wife;
c24: wife's sister;
c31: wife's sister;

there are actually three horizontal relationships and six oblique (directly or indirectly, through the already oblique position of the intermediary).

We have seen above that the "oblique" marriage is not unknown in the eastern, central, southern and western groups. But it is not so frequent there, and above all, the system of names does not take account of it. The problems resulting from this form of marriage are, then, resolved in two ways: either they preserve the names which have become contradictory, or they displace one or several individuals from the category of kinship to another. The method of the northern system is entirely different, for this is the system whose structure is accommodated to marriage between persons of different generations. (1) This new character is shown by a clearer distinction,

601
582
134

1. For the theoretical interpretation, it will be compared with the Miwok and Ao Naga systems, as we have analyzed them in another work. (Les structures élémentaires de la parenté, ch. 17 and 22.)

within each generation, between the "elder" and the "younger"; in place of four terms distinguishing the relative age and sex, there are only two, iʃla and sabãni, which refer to age and apply indifferently to both sexes. Moreover, the term sabãni tends to have the general meaning of "young" or "little," and succeeds in specifying, from this point of view, whatever the kinship relationship is (2) implying

2. Cf. below, p. 37, text No. 1.

thus that the quality of sabãni is equivalent to displacement to another generation. And actually, even though the older brother and the younger brother can equally claim to marry their sister's daughter, the older brother, even when married to his niece, will continue to be called iʃla by [34] his wife's mother. On the other hand, in the same situation the younger brother sometimes passes to the rank of ʃiauĩtte; he is no longer considered as a brother, but as a son-in-law. Moreover, if the term ʃiauĩtte normally means a "horizontal" son-in-law, that is a cross-nephew married to a daughter, it is significant that a man calls ʃiauĩtte his younger brother, who has married a niece, and even a "wife"; and that a woman designates a younger brother married to a daughter in the same way, as has just been seen. Nevertheless, a man calls his cross-cousins (fem.) and his sisters' daughters indiscriminately iʃtta (wife), while distinguishing the husbands of his "wives" as ʃiauĩtte (horizontal son-in-law), sabãni (or ʃiauĩtte, replacing sabãni) and iʃla.

601 It might be considered that these differences as regards the other
184 systems are purely formal. They bring on, however, some important
582 consequences. The preferential marriage between mother's brother and sister's daughter must introduce asymmetry between the children of the brother and those of the sister, thus justifying the use of different names in the two cases. For the same reason, one sees a shift of a classificatory generation appear between a woman who has married an uncle, and that of her parallel cousins. Here is a striking example:

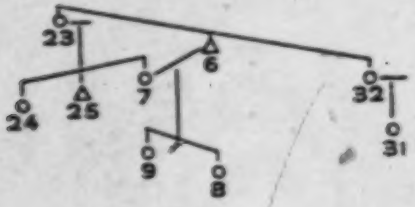

Fig. 10.

c23 calls C6 (in reality, sabãni) ʃiauĩtte; thus her daughter c24 calls him tĩ'mo (husband), since he is married to her sister, c7, and their brother C25 calls him ʃõpa for the same reason. For c23, her granddaughters (and nieces at the same time) c8 and c9 are ʃiuʃi, called tastero by the sister of the mother c24, and aʃginu by the brother of the mother C25. But if one looks at it from the point of view of c31, the essential fact is not, as in the preceding cases, that C6 has married a daughter or a sister (here, a niece or a parallel cousin), but that he is the mother's brother. Consequently, she calls him kodʒka (father-in-law), and she calls the wife of C6 ʃiʃko (mother-in-law), and the children of the latter become her ʃiuʃtta (sisters-in-law).

A double conclusion can be drawn from this analysis. In the first place, it must be remembered that in systems a and b the term for "older brother or sister" also means parallel cousins. Now we have just established that in the system of group c the parallel cousin can actually be displaced to a younger generation, and that such is the case when the marriage is of the "oblique" type. It may, therefore, be that the oblique marriage has occupied a more important place in systems a and b than is the case today. The second point is that the kinship system of group b, with its use of a special term for the brother or sister of the opposite sex, and its distinction [35] between the parents of spouses and the grandparents, takes an intermediary position

601 582 184 between systems a and c. It constitutes a sort of transition between the simple, symmetrical and harmonious system of the eastern groups and the more subtle and complex structure of the northern system. This role corresponds well to the respective geographic positions occupied by the different groups.

CONCRETE STUDY OF THE GROUPS

601 The concrete functioning of the kinship systems previously analyzed has been studied in the following groups:

I. Eastern group (dialects a).

621 (1) Dialect a 1. —A group of 23 individuals composed of six men, nine women, and eight children. This group was found to be temporarily enlarged by the meeting, and sometimes even the temporary combining of bands, whose members present among themselves, and as concerns the first group, analogous kinship relationships. Thus, group (1) was found to be temporarily increased to the point of including 75 individuals (20 men, 30 women, and 25 children).

(2) Dialect a2. —Several small units each including 6 to 12 individuals.

II. South-central group (dialect b1).

A stable group of 17 individuals composed of five men, six women and six children, temporarily increased, by the meeting with relatives, to 31 individuals (13 men, 10 women, and 8 children).

III. Western group (dialect b2).

A group of 12 individuals composed of four men, five women, and three children.

IV. Northern group (dialect c).

A stable group of 34 individuals composed of 9 men, 11 women and 14 children.

128 114 The concrete study of the groups will be based on the eastern group a1 (restricted) and on the central group b1 (restricted), the only ones with whom we have lived long enough to set forth a psychosociological analysis.

595 husband and his first wife will also play, while bathing or near the
182 camp fire. She is in no way excluded from the gay life. Moreover,
her slighter participation in relationships of amorous comradeship
is compensated by a greater respectability and a certain authority
over her young companions. It must not be forgotten (and we have
595 pointed it out in the study of the kinship system) that the polygamous
● 582 marriage presents a double aspect—the marriage of a man with a
woman and with some "daughters" of the latter, or with a woman
and the "sisters" of the latter. The respective situations of A1, a2
and a3 and a4 realize the two situations at the same time since, at
least in one of the cases (with a4), it is the second oblique marriage
within the same line. As example of the first type, we have the
marriages of A32 and of A56; for the second type, one can also refer
to the marriage of C20 (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 53.

595 The polygamous wives then, as a general rule, belong to a
571 younger generation. The first wife calls them "daughters" or of
"little sisters," and they behave as such. A form of spontaneous
grouping which one finds realized frequently is the union of the hus-
band's daughters (by his first wife) and his young wives (polygamous).
They form a sort of gay and carefree childlike society, but also a
more or less subordinate society. We have found households com-
prised of two (A42, A57, A73, B1, B32, C20), three (A1,) and five
(A32) wives. It does not seem that the number of wives is propor-
tional to the social importance of the husband (even though polygamous
union itself is conditioned by this), but is rather haphazard.

SEX LIFE

000 We shall begin by giving some information concerning organic
activities.

514 Coughing, sneezing, spitting, blowing the nose, belching, ex-
515 pelling flatus, constitute operations which are not subject to any
576 etiquette, and which the vocabulary does not always clearly dis-
tinguish (thus: tolitige, b1, to cough, and tolitiore, b2, to sneeze;
kaite, sneeze, and kaitpe, c, spit. tamikititu, a1, to expel flatus or to
defecate). All of these needs are satisfied publicly, without precaution,
ritual gesture or formula, as much on the part of the executor as on that
of the spectators. No attention is paid to them, and everything

838 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
[595 the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
582 and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
605 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (b1) has named poetically: tamindige kihãdige, that is false love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tarutebãdige tamĩndige (b1)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

838 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
605 adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
607 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
[201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarũte ialhaĩete. (b1)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
524 (kairobĩtunubi, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

621 instead that all the Sabané men were for them tarûte, or that all
605 the Tarundé men were jôpa. As a general rule they did not take the trouble to formulate relationships between women, between children, or between adults and children. In all these cases, except several occasions when the deduction was specifically made, they gave as an answer the name of the group: it is called "Sabané" or "Tarundé." It is thus in the function of the relationship of tarûte or jôpa (asûkosu, al) that the system has been conceived and applied.

This fact merits attention, for if the goal of the system were only to assure intermarriages, one could proceed in two other ways, or, more exactly, give two other interpretations for the same solution; one consisting of posing all the women as "sisters-in-law," the other treating all the men of one group and all the women of the other, respectively, as being among themselves "brothers and sisters," and the result would have been the same. Of course, these two aspects are implied in the proposed solution, as its correlaries. However, the solution itself, which could be presented in three different and equivalent ways, has actually been thought, in preferential fashion, to be in the function of the relationship existing between the male and allied collaterals. Several suggestions should thus be examined.

601 [79] Of the three possible solutions, two implied taking the women into consideration, one only was purely masculine, and it is that one which has been chosen. One must not be astonished if, as we suppose, the problem posed was a political problem, thus arising from command, exclusively exercised by the men, and not by a normal play of filiation, which seems rather a
● [582] matter of female lineage (1). Although in a simple system of

1. See p. 39.

marriage between cross-cousins, as is the Nambikwara system, the "brothers-in-law among themselves" can be as easily the fathers of the mothers as the fathers of the fathers, this choice gives to the Nambikwara sociology, which to the present time we have had trouble characterizing from this point of view, a decidedly masculine tint, or rather, it bears witness of a tendency in that direction, at the same time that it constitutes the first outline of a social system coming to superimpose itself on the purely family structures to which we have been limited

TN 601 171 The reader will find other indications concerning the assimilation of the brother of the father to a classificatory father in Soares de Souza (4).

4. "Roteiro do Brasil," Revista do Instituto, etc., Vol. XIV, 1851, p. 316-317.

TN 601 582 171 The old authors often describe the marriage of cross-cousins among the Tupi, as well as that of uncle with niece. Here again we shall first refer to Anchieta:

"They do not call daughters of sisters temerico eté, nor are they considered as such; because many Indians, since they have several nieces--and very attractive women they are--do not make use of them; but since brothers have so much power over sisters, they consider that [81] nieces belong to them (the brothers), so that they may consider them as wives and use them ad libitum if they so desire, just as they give their sisters themselves to some men and take them away from others. Taragoaj, a very important Indian of the village of Jaribiatiba, which is in the area of São Vicente, had two wives, and one of them was his niece, daughter of his sister..."(1)

1. Loc. cit., p. 259.

Farther on, the two types of marriage are seen as symmetrical institutions: "...porque os pais lhes dão as filas e os irmãos as irmas." Staden also alludes to the marriage of cousins: "They also offer as a gift their daughters and their sisters." (2) The same type of thing is

2. Hans Staden. The true history of his captivity (ed. Malcolm Letts), London, Vol. II, Ch. 18, p. 146.

found in Soares de Souza, Claude d'Abbeville and many others. With a sharp sociological sense, Anchieta discovers a connection [842] between the marriage with the sister's daughter and the recognition of the man as alone responsible for conception. One remembers that this theory is also shared by the Nambikwara:

"Since they respect the daughters of brothers, they call them daughters, and consider them as such; and thus they consider them inviolate because they have a true relationship, coming from the [842] father, who is the agent; and the mothers are nothing more than

receptacles with respect to the fathers, receptacles in which children are deposited, and for this reason the sons of fathers, if they are born of slaves or captives taken from another tribe, are always free and just as esteemed as the others; and the sons of women, if these sons are begotten by captives, are considered slaves and are sold, and sometimes they kill and eat them, even though they may be their own grandchildren, sons of their daughters, and for this reason also they use the daughters of sisters with no prejudice at intercourse, but there is no obligation or universal custom to consider them as true wives, more than the others, as has been stated above. And for this reason the fathers marry them now to their uncles, brothers of the mothers, if the parties are agreeable, by virtue of the power which they have to deal with them as they wish, something which until now is not done with nephews, sons of brothers, nor even in other relationships which are more distant and which come through the line of the fathers, because among the Indians this is considered very strange." (3)

3. Loc. cit., p. 259-260.

Without doubt the marriage of cross-cousins is widespread throughout the whole of South America. (4) But among the Tupi it

4. Thus Breton, concerning the Caraïb of the Antilles says: "First cousins whom we call sons of the brothers of the father are called brothers, and these brothers of the father are also called fathers; and the children of these brothers do not contract alliances together, but rather with the children of the sisters of their fathers." (Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François, Auxerre, 1665, p. 11.)

was rather avuncular marriage which held the attention of the first travelers. Thus, Léry notes: "As for the uncle, he takes his niece" (as a wife); and Thevet: "From the time they are born, the maternal uncle raises them and retains them for future wives." (5) Magalhães

5. Léry, loc. cit. II, Ch. XVII, p. 85; Thevet, Cosmogonie universelle, p. 932.

de Gandavo expresses himself inexactly, without doubt, but [82] in

T
N
601 the same sense when he writes: "It is their custom to marry the
171 women who are their nieces, daughters of their brothers of their
582 sisters; they regard them as their true and legitimate wives. The fathers of these women cannot refuse them, and no one, except their uncle, can claim to marry them (1)." One can refer also to

1. Pedro de Magalhes de Gandavo, The Histories of Brazil, The Cortes Society, New York, 1922, II, ch. X, p. 89.

Nobrega, Vasconcellos, Soares de Souza (2).

2. Nobrega, Cartas do Brazil, 1549-1560, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, p. 148;--Vasconcellos, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil, Lisboa, 1865, I. LXXXII, p. 133; Soares de Souza, Tratado, CLVII, CLII.

T
N
595 As regards polygamy and the distinction, so clear among the
171 Nambikwara, between the first wife devoted to household tasks and the secondary wives, companions of the men and sharing their obligations, it will be remembered that Magalhães de Gandavo alludes to a category of women actually unmarried, but who take part in masculine activity (3).

3. Gandavo, loc. cit., II, Ch. 10, p. 89. One will find other information about the family organization of the ancient Tupi in: A. Métraux, La religion des Tupinamba (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; --Lafone Quevedo, "Guarani kinship terms as an index of social organization (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), p. 421-440; --P. Kirchhoff, "Die Verwandschaftorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 53 , 1931, Ch. 15, p. 182).

T
N
607 All of these observations authorize us to trace a parallel between
171 the extension of the relationship of "brother-in-law" among the Nambikwara, and a custom, seemingly very close, of the ancient Tupi. First we quote from Yves d'Evreux: " A party of Frenchmen was dispersed throughout the villages to live there according to the

N
T
607 while (besides the preceding form) the Nambikwara brothers-in-law
171 exchange payment directly in the form of homosexual relationships,
N
[838] which make up for the absence of an available sister.
T
N We may now draw a conclusion. The ancient Tupi were acquainted
171 with two types of preferential marriage: the marriage of cross-
582 cousins, and avuncular marriage. The first appeared normally in
607 the form of an exchange of sisters between two cross-cousins; the
601 second resulted from a privilege over the daughter of the sister exercised by the mother's brother, or conceded to the latter by the sister's husband. In the two cases, the marriage is based on a pact between cross-cousins, brothers-in-law in right or in fact—which is the definition which we have retained for the Nambikwara terms tarũte or jõpa. Moreover, this relationship of "brother-in-law" can be established under the name of chetouasap (Yves d'Evreux) or coton-assap (Léry) between individuals which no bond of kinship united before, or relatives of a different or more distant type, and even between strangers (as was the case between French and Indians). The goal was to make possible intermarriage and to amalgamate families or groups, until that time heterogeneous, into a new social unit. One recognizes the procedure which we have described in connection with the fusion of the Sabané and Tarundé (1) groups.

N
171
601

1. The South American practice of utilizing kinship relationships to translate and establish social ties is attested by Von den Steinen (Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), whom the Bakairi had decided to call "older brother" and the Mehinaku "maternal uncle." We have just established the equality of the terms "brother-in-law" and "maternal uncle" in a system of marriage between cousins (cross-) joined to the avuncular marriage. As to the use of the term "elder brother," this calls for two observations. In the first place, the kinship system of the Bororo, who are not far distant from the Xingu, modifies each generation in two stages of which the one (elder) is assimilated to the younger members of the former generation and the other (younger) to the older members of the next generation. In such a system, an "elder brother" might be, in fact, a real uncle and a potential brother-in-law. The second point brings to a focus the logical difference between

622 named chief. One single point is clear: his functions are not hereditary. When the acting chief falls ill or becomes too old to carry on his charge, he points out from among the members of the group the one who will be his successor, doubtless influenced in his choice by collective opinion. He makes the decision public by the formula: hẽi ũilikãde (b1): "this one will be chief," and thus the continuity of power is assured:

34. ũilikaa dõrerige tiahĩlikĩherage nlaure ũilikãde (b1)
When the chief dies, another chief comes in his place.

[90] But it happens that the person in question caring little for the heavy responsibilities which await him, declines the honor which has just been done him:

35. ũtniane ũntũilikã ĩlikãdnere (b1)
I do not wish to take the place of the chief.

and it is necessary to proceed to a new choice. What are then the motives which might determine the acceptance? Sexual preoccupations certainly play a role. If the newly elected is young, in place of going through a long period of celibacy or of being forced to marry an old woman, he will find himself in the privileged position of having several companions. If he is already married, he can add to his wife the youngest and prettiest among the available women of the group, or among those who will be conquered in war, and eventually obtain those whom he would desire and who would be already married.

C20, having lost his wives through illness or for some other reason, found himself a bachelor. He then took his young wife (c21) [502] from another husband, under the pretext that the latter was "too young to have a wife." Undoubtedly his liking of responsibility must equally be taken into consideration, his sense of leadership, ambition, and his desire for a fuller existence than that of normal life. The only two chiefs with whom we had any real personal contacts (A1 and B1) were both individuals of particularly lively spirit and, in giving to the term the sense which it might possess in these societies, more cultivated than their companions. (1)

1. The Indian theory of command has been the object of a more detailed study: C. Lévi-Strauss, Chief and chieftainship among a primitive tribe: The Nambikwara of Northwestern Matto Grosso. Transactions of the New-York Academy of Sciences, 1944.

854 From this time on, the life of the Nambikwara infant goes on as we have described, and without there being much differentiation according to sex. These differences begin to appear only at the ap-
881 proach of puberty. At this time, the girls adopt a completely new behavior. They allow themselves great liberties, speaking brutally to their entourage and [109] amusing themselves with obscene acts. The fact is that the ceremony of puberty, which coincides with mar-
[553] riage, marks a decided change in her life and it is also upon that occasion that she receives her name. The Nambikwara women marry
582 very soon after their first menstruation. The polygamy of the chiefs
[595] creates a permanent deficit of women, and the newly available wife is impatiently awaited. According to our informants, it is the young
584 girl who indicates to her parents which of her potential husbands she wishes to marry. She says that she "wishes to marry quickly" (ikĩndurige, b1); the term of dialect a1 for "to marry" being ouensaikititu, literally: "to make a husband," it seems that, as has been affirmed, the initiative belongs to the girl:

48. inka (ni) duredniẽn — durẽnie (b1)
"I wish to marry quickly" [says the girl]. "Marry," says the mother] (?)

Actually, it seems that the marriage is decided from infancy by an agreement between the parents. Farseeing parents must prepare far in advance the marriage of their son, for otherwise the latter risks not finding an available woman. Brothers-in-law have often indicated to us that their children were promised to one another.

881 At the time of puberty, the young girl is completely isolated for a period of from two to four months. She lives in a specially constructed shelter some distance from the village, and lives there alone, observing a series of alimentary and social taboos. During this period, her mother feeds her and takes care of her. The period of segration ended, songs and dances take place. Her shelter is torn down and "the mother takes back her child." Then the ceremony proper of marriage takes place. It is prepared by hunting and fishing, expeditions and is carried out amidst chants and dances:

49. ãrige aĩsũngnerage denano inŝira ãikira ãiknira taãta halonoo tatlĩkta ãindage hntimbãta ũrrige imãgãra imãgãra (b1)
Go get fish, the women arrive, arrive, to broil [the fish] in the square go out, sing, whistle, play the flute, play the flute.

[581] Dutemõdednige (b1), say the Nambikwara men; "it is a good
582 thing to marry." But it is not easy. The ideal marriage is the one which gives a "young and pretty woman" (monodunũere, b1) whose virginity one will have (to break the hymen: tauorõtige, b1). But such women are precisely the ones who are claimed by the chiefs or shamans, and only a few young men will have a chance to obtain such wives. The others are condemned to a long period of celibacy
[838] which they will break by having sexual relations with their brothers-in-law, or else they will marry an "old woman" who cannot have sexual relations (tiroanebiĩ̂ere, b1), one who is widowed or repudiated, whom no one wants. Such marriages are not rare among the Nambikwara, and are explained by the fundamental economic role of the couple which we have already commented on. But they are not permanent. When the young man feels his position in the group
582 strengthened, or when a better occasion is presented he abandons
586 (amnjõtige, b1) his old wife to take another (ulamtunjõtige, b1) who
587 is younger and more seductive. It happens that a man thus marries three or four wives successively before considering himself satisfied. (1)

[71]

1. Here also, the documents of the 16th century relating to the Tupi support the comparison: ".... at times they take some old woman from whom they do not expect children, because there are no others, only so that they will cook the food, since they have no mother or sisters-in-law to take care of them, thus they are cared for, and are contented at present time with some old woman by whom they are always well treated and then taking other women by whom they have children later, either leaving the first wife or keeping her, if she wishes, for the reason mentioned above." (Anchieta, loc.cit., p. 260-261).

The repudiated woman [111] goes to live with her parents if they are still living, joins up with another man if she has the opportunity or even remains her former husband's fire, whose existence she shares and whose tasks she participates in, but in a slightly inferior position. Such is the position of b3 in the household of her ex-husband B1. Another method of obtaining the young woman desired consists of
336 seducing her, even if she is married. Adultery and more generally sentimental intrigues are very frequent among the Nambikwara,

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

string (secondary release). Four types ot arrows are used: (1) featherless fishing arrow with three to five prongs; (2) bird arrow with a blunt point; (3) big-game arrow with a lanceolate bamboo point; and (4) poisoned arrow, used chiefly for hunting monkeys, with several barbs which are attached to the point with cotton wrapping and which break easily in the wound, being, therefore, usually protected by a bamboo sheath. The last three have a bamboo shaft and "Arara" feathering. Sewed feathering is known by the central and northern groups but seldom used. For warfare, big game arrows with serrated bamboo points are used.

Nambicuara arrow poison is a curare prepared by grating the root of a *Strychnos* shrub, and by infusing (*Eastern Nambicuara*) or boiling (*Central* and *Northern Nambicuara*) it until the water evaporates and leaves a thick brownish substance, which is smeared on a wax-coated arrow point. It can be preserved in tiny pots for several months. Among South American arrow poisons, it is remarkable because it is made of only one vegetable substance and is prepared openly—in some groups by the chief or shaman, in other groups by anyone—without magical practices or taboos. Its great toxic properties were studied by Vellard (1939 b).

Other poisons of unknown composition are used for amorous or political revenge. They are in the form of powders and are kept in tubes made of feather quills, bamboo, or other woods, each ornamented with paintings and cotton or bark wrappings.

Clubs are carved in the shape of a flattened or cylindrical pointed spade; the handle is often adorned with black and white plaiting of philodendron bark and bamboo strips. Their purpose is mostly ceremonial.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship terms identify parallel-cousins with siblings, and cross-cousins with potential or actual spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are called by the same terms as parents-in-law and grandparents; parallel-uncles and parallel-aunts are equated with parents. Similarly, parallel-nephews and parallel-nieces are classed with children, and cross-nephews and cross-nieces with children-in-law. Marriage is between cross-cousins or between the maternal uncle and his niece. Monogamy is the rule, but polygyny is the privilege of the chief and other important men. Polygyny is usually with several sisters (sororal) or with a woman and her daughters by a former union. The first wife runs the household, subsequent wives being assistants to the husband. The deficiency of available women which results from polygyny is compensated by homosexuality between adolescent male cross-cousins (Lévi-Strauss, 1943 a).

The village is ruled by a chief, but each of the nomadic bands into which it splits during the dry season is led by a secondary chief. Chief-

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

621 people are seldom met together, the average size of the bands being twenty individuals, women and children included. This demographic collapse cannot possibly have taken place without affecting the structure of the band. But here, too, we do not need to concern ourselves 121 with such questions as the type of political organization in earlier times. It is probably more difficult to understand Nambikuara sociology now than it was thirty years ago. Perhaps, on the contrary, the much reduced Nambikuara band offers, better than in the past, a privileged field for a study in social anthropology. My contention is that, precisely on account of its extreme impoverishment, Nambikuara political structure lays bare some basic functions which may remain hidden in more complex and elaborate systems of government.

[361] Each year, at the end of the rainy season, that is, in April or in early May, the semi-permanent dwellings laid in the vicinity of the 621 gallery-forest where the gardens are cleared and tilled, are abandoned and the population splits into several bands formed on a free choice basis. Each band includes from two to about ten families usually tied by kinship. This may be misleading when a band is met, for one easily gets the impression that it is formed as an extensive family. It 601 does not take long to discover, however, that the kinship tie between [602] two families belonging to separate bands may be as close, and eventually closer, than between two families inside the same band. The [582] Nambikuara have a simple kinship system based on cross-cousin marriage and the subsequent dichotomy between "cross" and "parallel" in every generation. Therefore, all the men in one generation are either "brothers" or "brothers-in-law," and men and women are to one another either siblings (true or classificatory) or spouses (true or classificatory). Similarly, children are, in relation to the adults, either sons and daughters (true or classificatory) or nephews and nieces, which is the same as actual or potential children-in-law.[3] As a result, there is no great choice of terms to express kinship, and this explains why kinship inside the band may appear closer than it actually is, and kinship between people belonging to different bands more remote than shown 602 by genealogies. Furthermore, a bilateral cross-cousin marriage system functioning in a relatively small tribe must produce a progressive 621 narrowing, and even a multiplication, of the kinship ties between any two individuals. This is a supplementary reason preventing family

[3] C. Lévi-Strauss. "The Social Use of Kinship Terms among Brazilian Indians." American Anthropologist, 45 (3) 1943.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

619 to grow manioc and sweetpotatoes. He also gave them
773 the flute (*wáinhu*), and taught them how to sing and dance. *Oklihdítisu* is thus the culture hero of the Nambicuara. In human form he looks like a Nambicuara Indian, wears ornaments in his ears, nose, and upper lip and paints himself with urucú. Yet today people no longer see *oklihdítisu*, for he has gone away. They do not have rituals connected with him, nor do the shamans solicit his aid. But the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came is still recognized as the place of the dead. On ceremonial occasions the ghosts of the ancestors come to the encampments and villages from the mountain, returning after they have been given food.

622 Although every band has a leader or chief it is not quite certain whether these leaders get their positions through succession or by personal strength and prestige. Julio claimed that he is headman because his father was a headman, but the other members of the Waklítisu band claim that the strongest man is always the leader by common agreement. The Nambicuara appear to value two qualities in a man—"a strong body" and "a strong mouth." The chief is like a tapir (*alúnsu*) which is the strongest of the animals; thus, a chief is called *alunsdídnara*. A shaman gains power by talking or by having "a strong mouth," as the Nambicuara say. The strongest man is one who combines these qualities and is at once a strong man and shaman—he becomes an important chief.

The survival of the band, the Nambicuara believe, depends upon the *alunsdídnara*. He is the hunt leader, the head farmer, the one who organizes trade between the bands, the ceremonial head, the war leader, and the settler of disputes. Every successful chief is supposed to have four wives but otherwise has nothing to distinguish him from the rest of the tribesmen.

619 Relationships between the bands of the Eastern Nambicuara are characterized by intermarriage, trade, occasional joint ceremonies, and wife stealing and consequent armed conflicts. Inter-
● [582] marriage occurs when cross cousins are not available for marriage within the band. The Chiwáisu
438 and Hégndisu obtain pots from the Western
619 Nambicuara in exchange for wax, feather ornaments, beads, and bows and arrows. These pots they in turn exchange with the Eastern Nambicuara bands for knives, axes, and tin cans.

When one band wants to meet another in order to exchange goods the approach is made in a very formal manner. The approaching band stops

[p. 96 (B)]

621 Elótasu band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *taydntasu* (grandfather) and the term *quatahdinisu* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *awinisu* (father) and the term *ahakinisu* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *ahainusu* and mother's brother *asúnusu*. A man calls his older brother *akandnusu*, his younger brother *dawdidnisu*, and his sisters *awddnasu*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akirdru*) and daughter (*akenéru*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *asuétu* and *asintu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *asúkisu* and that for female cross cousin, *dazéru*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *quatasdiserawa*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*azisu*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*amezdisu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*asúnusu*), and mother-in-law (*ahainusu*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Elótasu woman all the wives in Julio's band were Waklítisu and cross cousins of their husbands. At the death of
587 the husband the wife and children pass to the
768 deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers. Residence is patri-
591 local although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trade, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-

baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Waklĭtisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitânrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who is to become the husband of a girl just out of seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

571 607 A more fundamental problem raised by the union of the two groups, namely the nature of the relations to be established between their respective members, was solved by the common statement that all the male members of the Sabáne group were to be acknowledged as the "brothers-in-law" (*tarúlę*) of the male adults of the Tarúnde group, and, conversely, that the latter were to be acknowledged as "brothers-in-law" (*iópą*) by the former. Consequently, all the "wives" belonging to one group became the "sisters" of the "husbands" of the other, and the "sisters-in-law" of the latters' wives; and all children of both sexes in one group became the potential spouses of the children in the other. As a result, these two groups will be welded into a single consanguineous unit within two generations.

The conscious and systematic nature of this solution cannot be doubted. When asked for their kinship relation to any male adult of the allied group, the male informants, irrespective of the group to which they themselves belonged, never gave a different answer, but always emphasized that the question was meaningless since all the Sabáne men were their *tarúlę*, or all Tarúnde men their *iópą*. On the other hand, no one seemed to have a clear idea of the exact relationship between the women, the children, or the adults and the children of the two groups. Occasionally the correct theoretical relationship could be deduced; more frequently only the group name was given in reply to our queries: She is calling the other one "Sabáne"—or "Tarúnde." Thus it may be assumed that the system was conceived of and applied according to (and exclusively according to) the *tarúlę* (or *iópą*) relationship. This inference is rather important because, of course, the same result could have been achieved by other means.

If the sole aim of the system had been to ensure inter-marriage, it could have been brought about equally well in two other ways; perhaps we should say that two different interpretations might have been made of the same phenomenon. In the first place, the women might have been regarded as "sisters-in-law"; or, in the second place, all the men of one group and all the women of the other might have entered a brother-sister relationship. In both cases the result would have been the same as in the accepted interpretation, in which, indeed, these relationships are implied though not expressed. Nevertheless, the solution itself was actually based on the relationship between the male and his allied collaterals, the consequences of which must now be examined.

571 607 583 Two of the three possible interpretations implied the consideration of women; only one was purely masculine, and it is the latter which was adopted by the natives. The reason for the choice is obvious since the problem to be solved was a purely political one, concerning the chieftainship, which is exercised by men, rather than the normal mechanism of filiation, the pattern of which seems to be matrilineal. In a simple system of cross cousin marriage, such as that of the Nambikuara, the brother-in-law may be either the matri-

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

lateral or the patrilateral cross cousin; nevertheless, the chosen interpretation stresses the male side in Nambikuara society, or, let us say, it shows a strong tendency in this direction. At the same time we can see in such a solution a specifically social structure beginning to superimpose itself on the formerly simple familial units.

We do not intend in any way to base a theory of the origin of dual organizations on these restricted observations, the character of which is mainly anecdotal. However, this is a case where "the characteristic features of the sib organization are in some measure prefigured among sibless tribes";[1] as a matter of fact, in order to fulfil the main requirements of a system of exogamic moieties, it would be sufficient for the new unit, once fixed, to retain the recollection of its dual origin by preserving the habit of not mingling the camp fires.

Moreover, the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship provides an instance of the increasingly superior position of the men within the group, since it is through the men that group alliances are brought about, just as wars are waged by men.

The preceding observations have a further value, since with their help we may be able to interpret sociological information found in the older literature on South America, especially that dealing with the Tupi of the Brazilian coast.

There are striking similarities between several features of the Nambikuara kinship system and what may be inferred about the ancient familial organization of the coastal Tupi. When describing small details of Nambikuara daily life, one is often tempted to quote Jean de Léry or Yves d'Evreux, so accurately do their words apply to certain live features of Nambikuara society, notwithstanding the fact that they were written four centuries before this culture became known. As a matter of fact, several metaphysical themes are common to both cultures and, indeed, certain names in the Nambikuara religious vocabulary have a conspicuously Tupi origin. The most important similarities, however, are those involving the kinship systems. In both cultures the same three principles of familial organization are stressed and are apparently similarly expressed: First the dichotomy of the parents' brothers and sisters between parallel uncles and aunts, called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross uncles and aunts, called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law;" secondly, the marriage of cross cousins with the correlative assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; and, finally, the avuncular marriage, which, among the ancient Tupi, seems to have taken the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter.

An excellent text by Anchieta gives evidence of the occurrence of the first principle, as well as showing signs of the existence of the other two:

[1] Robert H. Lowie, *Family and Sib* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21), p. 28.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

595
171

Regarding polygyny and the sharp differentiation made among the Nambikuara between the first wife who devotes herself to feminine activities and the younger wives who are their husband's companions and share his tasks, it may be recalled that Magalhaes de Gandavo[17] refers to a special category of women, single indeed, who shared in masculine activities.[18]

171
114

The preceding similarities may perhaps allow us to establish a valid comparison between our observations concerning the extension of the "brother-in law" relationship among the Nambikuara and what seems to have been a very similar institution among the ancient Tupi. We first quote Yves d'Evreux:

> They scattered part of the French through the villages so that they might live according to the custom of the land, which consists in having *cheiouasap*, that is to say, hosts or god-sibs (*compères*), giving them merchandise instead of money. Such hospitality or god-sib relationship is very close among them, for they regard you as their child as long as you stay with them. They hunt and fish for you and, what is more, they used to give their daughters to their god-sibs (*compères*).[19]

The same author refers later to the "French who were established in the villages in a god-sib relationship (*compérage*)."[20] Evidence of the aboriginal institution may also be found in Jean de Léry:

> It is worth remarking that the words *atour-assap* and *coton-assap* differ, because the first signifies a perfect alliance between them and between them and us, so much so that the belongings of the one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or sister of the first named.[21]

From this one may infer, conversely, that marriage is authorized with the sister and the daughter of the *coton-assap*. Therefore, the *coton-assap* is granted a double privilege: first, marriage with his partner's sister, which makes him a "brother-in-law"; and, secondly, marriage with his partner's daughter, which is equivalent to his assimilation to the rank of "maternal uncle";—then, because he is considered a theoretical brother of his partner's wife, he also becomes a theoretical brother-in-law. Actually, therefore, both privileges have the same result.

171
607
582

One more similarity between the Tupi and Nambikuara brother-in-law relationship remains to be pointed out. All the texts quoted agree that there existed among the Tupi a kind of authority held by young men over their

[17] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 10, p. 89.

[18] Other indications on the familial organization of the ancient Tupi may be found in: Métraux, *La Religion des Tupinambas* (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; Lafone Quevedo, *Guarani Kinship Terms as an Index of Social Organization* (American Anthropologist. Vol. 21, 1919), pp. 421–440; Kirchhoff. *Die Verwandschaftsorganization der Urwaldstamme Südamerikas* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, ch. 15), p. 182.

[19] *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil*, ed. F. Denis (Leipzig et Paris, 1864, II), p. 14.

[20] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 109.

[21] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 20, p. 133. Cf. also Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), pp. 169–170.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

sisters. Cross cousin marriages seem to have resulted chiefly from a reciprocal exchange of their respective sisters by the male cross cousins. (The same holds for the giving of a daughter by a father.) The potential or actual brothers-in-law then enter into a relationship of a special nature based upon reciprocal sexual services. We know that the same thing may be said of the Nambikuara brothers-in-law, with the difference that, among the Tupi, the sisters or daughters of the brothers-in-law provided the object of these services, whereas among the Nambikuara the prestations are directly exchanged in the form of homosexual relations.

We may now summarize our observations. The ancient Tupi acknowledged two forms of marriage; namely, cross cousin marriage and avuncular marriage. The first was usually practised in the form of an exchange of sisters by two male cousins; the second appears to have been a right to the sister's daughter exercised by the mother's brother or granted to him by his sister's husband. In both cases the marriage is the result of an agreement between cross cousins, actually or potentially brothers-in-law—which is the definition we retained as a suitable translation of the Nambikuara terms *tarášę* and *iópę*. Now, this special "brother-in-law" relationship could be established, under the name of *chetowasap* (Evreux) or *coton-assap* (Léry), between individuals not united previously by any kinship tie, or else only more remotely related, or even between strangers (as was the case of the French and the Indians). The reason for such a step was to ensure intermarriage and by this means to amalgamate familial or social groups, previously heterogeneous, into a new homogeneous unit. One recognises here the same process described in the analysis of the relations between the newly joined groups, Sabáne and Tarúndę.[28]

[28] The widespread South American custom of using kinship terms to express social relationships is attested to by Von den Steinen (*Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens*, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), who was called "elder brother" by the Bakairi and "maternal uncle" by the Mehinaku. We have just established the equivalence of the terms "maternal uncle" and "brother-in-law" in a system of cross cousin marriage combined with avuncular marriage. Regarding the use of the term "elder brother," two observations should be made. First, in a kinship system such as that of the Bororo, not far distant from the Xingu, each generation is to some extent split into two layers, the elder half being assimilated to the younger half of the generation above and the younger half to the elder half of the generation below. In such a system an "elder brother" may well be a true uncle and a potential brother-in-law.

The use of the term "brother" for social purposes may also be understood in another way. Among the Nambikwara, there is a special term, sometimes used to designate a sibling of the same sex, the meaning of which is "the other one." This term is applied not only to describe a familial relationship, but is also used to name objects belonging to a class which includes several units (for instance, the pests of the huts or the pipes of the whistles). Friendly groups may also consider themselves to be "brothers" and the exclamation, "You are no more my brother!" may often be heard in discussions between angry adversaries.

This suggests that the term "brother" possesses, in addition to its kinship significance, a very wide meaning, both logical and moral. Nevertheless, when the technical problem of establishing new social relationships is put up to the Indians, it is not the vague "brotherhood" which is called upon, but the more complex mechanism of the "brother-in-law" relationship.